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Africa SPECIAL REPORT

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African Manifesto Stirs Congo

This month, in a surprise move, the Governor-General of the Belgian Congo was suddenly called to Brussels for private consultations with the Minister of the Colonies. Belgian press reports, alleging a rift between the two officials over Congo policy, were firmly denied.

Nevertheless, it did seem significant that the Brussels consultations came close on the heels of an unprecedented eruption of political activity among thinking Africans in the Congo.

Current agitation came into the open on a comfortable July day this year in Leopoldville, administrative hub of the sprawling Congo, when a little African periodical called "Conscience Africaine" hit the streets with a special issue. In it was a "Manifesto," asking the Belgians to "emancipate" the Congo and turn the running of the country over to the people who inhabit it. The Manifesto supported a thirty year time limit.

For the politically placid Congo (nobody votes there, black or white) this was an amazing declaration of the African will. Nothing like it had ever been publicly stated before.

On the following pages, Africa Special Report departs from its regular format to present the highlights of the history-making Manifesto and the circumstances surrounding its publication.

YOUNG FACES in an integrated Leopoldville classroom. The next few years may indicate what kind of relations lie ahead for these citizens of tomorrow. At present this scene is rare in the Congo.--Congopresse

RESPONSE to the manifesto was electric. Word swept Leopoldville's African "city" and filtered deep into the Congo bush in one of those mysteries of African communication that make outsiders marvel. Africans who couldn't read, pasted treasured copies on their walls. The Manifesto was sold at a football game, and amazed Europeans watched African fans buy it up like pieces of Chickwanga bread.

Normally, an issue of "Conscience Africaine" wouldn't cause a stir anywhere. It had started out as an inconspicuous discussion letter, published by a group of educated Africans with Catholic backing, and its writings on society, morals and education were always high-minded, unexciting and safe.

This time, however, "Conscience Africaine" had an international impact, and the reverberations from its publication, as noted to date, may well mark 1956 as a turning point in the political evolution of the world's richest colony.

At publication time, some of the writers half expected they would soon be finding themselves "relegated" to Lac Leopold, the Congo's detention camp which houses by

Conscience Africaine

NUMERO SPECIAL

MANIFESTE

NOTRE VOCATION NATIONALE

UNE TACHE EXALTANTE A POURSUIVRE

UNIE DANS LA DIVERSITÉ

LEOPOLDVILLE SHIPYARD WORKER--Congopresse.

official count more than 2,000 religious fanatics and other "subversive" elements. Instead, the Congo's astute, far-sighted Governor-General, Leon A. M. Pétillon, invited Editor Joseph Ileo to his office for an hour and a half chat. This made Ileo's prestige soar.

Governor Petillon has always been a lot more interested in safeguarding Belgium's access to Congo minerals than in catering to the whims of the Congo's white settler groups. He is quite aware that this access depends, in a long-range sense, on African good-will. And, like other responsible Belgians, he has lately become convinced that this good-will cannot be purchased by money alone.

Thus, the old Belgian policy, which was to keep the African satisfied economically and (it was hoped) sew up loyalty before political awareness became an important factor, has been undergoing a quiet re-evaluation. Coming at this strategic time, the Manifesto adds weight to the new, enlightened view, for the publication and its response indicate clearly what many have expected, that political awareness is here and now and has to be faced.

The implied warning of the Manifesto is plain: that the tide of African aspirations can never be turned back, and that to attempt to frustrate it would be folly. In this framework, vague Belgian references to independence in 50 or 100 years begin to lose some of their pertinence.

Instead, Congolese self-determination has become a live issue, something which, in the Congo, is being talked about openly and specifically for the first time. An indication of the new atmosphere came less than two months after the publication of "Conscience Africaine," when, on August 23, a different group of Africans, the "Association of the Bakongo (people) for the Unification, Conservation and Propagation of the Kikongo Language" (known as ABAKO), issued a similar manifesto of their own.

THE MODERATELY phrased Manifesto of "Conscience Africaine" sets forth a blueprint for self-government which, in a world context of dying colonialism, is compelling in its implications. The Manifesto looks ahead to the day when the Congo becomes "a great nation in the center of the African continent."

The Congo is as big as the entire United States east of the Mississippi. It has a gross national product of one billion dollars. It is inhabited by twelve million Africans under the administration of a European community whose total numbers do not exceed the population of Poughkeepsie, New York. In these circumstances, many observers, including Belgians, feel an eventual power shift is inevitable.

At stake is political control of one of the world's greatest mineral storehouses, whose resources could reinforce the economy of a true world power. Out of the Congo came the uranium ore for America's first A-bombs, and more than half of the West's supply is reportedly mined there today. The Congo provides three fourths of the free world's cobalt (vital in jet engines) three-fourths of its industrial diamonds, and the richest copper ore found anywhere. As if this were not enough, an untouched area near the Atlantic Coast is believed to hold even more fabulous underground deposits than those being worked today.

At present 80 to 90 percent of all Congo investment is controlled by the "Big Five," a quintet of huge private Belgian cartels, which in turn are partly owned by the Belgian Government. One crucial problem throughout the next few decades in the Belgian Congo will be the attitude of these interests toward devolution of political power to the Africans, and on the other hand, how far African leaders want to go in "Congolizing" the holdings of the cartels.

On this ticklish question, both manifestos mentioned the word "nationalization" and hinted broadly at the need for a change in the present order of things. Emphatically, they called for better wages for African workers and underlined a demand for the right to unionize--a right presently encumbered with numerous restrictions for Africans in the Congo.

THE 1956 MANIFESTOS did not come entirely out of the blue but were in part a reaction to pronouncements by Belgian rulers on the future of the Congo. These pronouncements occurred as follows:

SCENE IN A CONGO VILLAGE

In May 1955, Belgium's young King Baudouin toured the Congo and received from the Congolese Africans a welcome the enthusiasm of which staggered even the most optomistic Belgian administrators. The loyalty and devotion to the king expressed on this occasion will not be forgotten in the mapping of future relations between Belgium and her adopted offspring.

Also not to be forgotten were two rather surprising statements the king made after his visit. One was an admission that "It is not enough to provide modern equipment for the country, to give it a wise social legislation or to improve the standard of living of its inhabitants." The other was a promise: When white and black give proof of the "greatest possible" understanding of one another...the moment will have come--though the exact date of its advent cannot yet be stated--for giving to our African territories a statute which... will ensure the perpetuity of a genuine Belgo-Congolese community, guaranteeing to all, black and white, the share due to them in the government of their country.."

This was a marked shift in the Belgian attitude.

A FEW DAYS after the king's speech, Governor Petillon got down to the core of the issue with a frankness that was startling. In his yearly speech before the Government Council (a speech usually devoted to benign statements of economic progress), the Governor accused many Europeans in the Congo of "reprehensible arrogance, a mortifying familiarity, abruptness or even brutality" in their relations with the Africans. There are some, he said, who "behave as if they were in a conquered territory." He also railed against those whose "stupid snobbery and sterile vanity" resulted in "excessive, ostentatious showing-off." Envy, he said, may become a formidable driving force "when it tortures and haunts those who are increasingly better able to understand and make comparisons."

Many Europeans resented the paternalistic scolding of the Governor, while a number of Africans envisioned the dawning of a new era and wondered what would happen next. Very little did.

After a year had passed, Governor Pétillon, in his 1956 speech, reiterated his aspirations for an "association" in a "Communauté Belgo-Congolaise," and he again neglected to define what he meant by this. He pleaded for time, and promised a policy of "prudent boldness."

Many Congolese elite, already disenchanted by the lack of positive action, regarded the new speech with anxiety, and it was in this atmosphere of apparent Belgian inertia that the Manifesto of "Conscience Africaine" was born.

Its major points were these:

a) Skin color must not confer privilege.

b) Africans want to be citizens of the Congo, not black-skinned Europeans.

c) They want a true democracy, based on the equality of all men and the participation of the people in the government of the country.

d) An essential distinction must be made between the presence of Belgians in the Congo and Belgian domination of the Congo.

e) For a sincere rapprochement between Europeans and Congolese, it is not too late, but it is time.

f) The Africans must be consulted in future plans, and if their advice is not followed, the Belgians ought to explain why.

g) To realize the idea will take long effort, many difficulties and considerable tenacity, perserverance and patience.

h) The future of the Congo is at stake.

A CONGOLESE "evolué" (westernized African) meets Adlai Stevenson during the latter's 1955 African tour.

The Manifesto did NOT make loose use of catchwords like "freedom" and "independence." It asked instead for an expression, on the part of the Belgians, of a sincere desire to grant to the Congo, in a period of 30 years, "complete political emancipation." This was later defined as total autonomy, in thirty years, on all internal questions and an end to Belgian domination.

The Manifesto flatly rejected the idea of integration of the Congo as part of Belgium and it also turned thumbs down on a federation imposed without free consent or made a condition of political emancipation. The authors defined their ultimate idea of "communauté" as "the fruit of a free collaboration between independent nations linked by a durable friendship."

Given friendship, understanding and a sincere Belgian policy of progressive emancipation, then "quite naturally the autonomous Congo will decide to remain united with Belgium." But, editor Ileo subsequently warned, if emancipation of the Congo is to be a matter of struggle and hostility, then permanent "association" with Belgium would have no chance.

THE ABAKO MANIFESTO was less tamely worded than the first document. "The regime of arbitrary subrogation which has caused the Congo to become known as 'the empire of silence' must come to an end," it asserted. "We demand 1) political rights, 2)...liberty of the individual, of thought, of opinion and of press; the liberty to meet together, liberty of association, of conscience and of religious faith." On wages: "One can build hospitals, schools,

AIR VIEW OF PORT AREA AND COMMERCIAL CENTER OF LEOPOLDVILLE, THE CONGO'S BUSTLING CAPITAL CITY--Congopresse.

social centers and...garden cities, but one does not dare add a cent to the salary of the unfortunate negro for fear that the treasury will be ruined. Naturally one must be stupid not to understand that these social works are first and foremost for purely political ends; they constitute 'a museum' to distract the tourist..."

The ABAKO Manifesto took issue with the first document, but only in approach, not objectives. The ABAKO rejected the "thirty year" deadline as too slow. "Our patience has more than reached its limit," they said. "It is better to accord us emancipation this day."

The ABAKO also differed sharply on the question of political parties. The authors of the first manifesto had rejected the idea of parties on the Belgian pattern but called instead for a united African national movement. The ABAKO retorted that parties were necessary in a democracy.

A subtle factor which entered the picture here was the Catholic influence on "Conscience Africaine" and the protestant orientation of the ABAKO. Current charges and counter-charges in the Congo and Belgian European press include accusations that the "national movement" foreseen by "Conscience Africaine" was intended to be Catholic controlled. Some observers, however, saw in these allegations an attempt to frighten off non-Catholic Africans from the movement, thus disrupting African unity. In any case, the traditional Belgian rivalry of Catholic factions on one hand, and anti-clericals on the other, has been interjected into Congo African nationalism at the very offset.

Other recent pronouncements, by Catholic bishops in the Congo and by the Socialist party in Belgium, have emphasized the split and further indicated a competition for African popularity.

More important however, is the fact that Congo Africans are now speaking out for themselves. Both manifestos were in apparent agreement on the ultimate terms for relations with the mother country. The African leaders, thus, have stated their definition of "association" with Belgium, and are asking the Belgians to do the same.

Steadfast Belgian refusal to face this question openly was reflected again this month as Governor Pétillon and Minister of the Colonies Auguste Buisseret held their talks in Brussels. As the talks opened, accusations that the Brussels government has no Congo policy became so persistent that Buisseret issued a public denial.

Affirming that the government "has a policy," Buisseret added doggedly that the Belgo-Congolese community "must be a human community before the details of its political structure can be worked out."

Kenya Settlers Put The Brake On Multi-Racialism

By Special Correspondent

NAIROBI—Constitutional progress in this multi-racial colony of British East Africa came to a sudden halt this month with the announcement of the general election results. They showed that the White Settlers, who still wield the main political influence in Kenya despite their small numbers, are strongly against any further African or Asian participation in the colony's government.

Kenya took a big step forward in 1954 at the height of the African Mau Mau uprising when it introduced the new constitution devised by Lord Chandos (then Oliver Lyttleton, Britain's Colonial Secretary). This provided for representatives of all Kenya's races (Africans, Europeans, Asians and Arabs) to sit in the Council of Ministers. Kenya thus took a more advanced step than any other multi-racial territory in British Africa. Mr. Beniah Apollo Ohanga became the first African Cabinet Minister to hold office in East Africa and two Asians took their places alongside three European Settler Ministers.

> But with a steady return to normal and an end to the "shooting war," the European voters have again had a change of heart. The majority have come out against the present Lyttleton Plan because they say it admits non-Europeans to participate in the Government regardless of who is the best man for the job.

Many odd features marked this Kenya election, first held since the Mau Mau Emergency began. Despite the tiny White electorate numbering less than 20,000 all told, the voting was extended over a period of ten days. Twenty of the 31 candidates called themselves "independents" and the most powerful group to emerge was not in fact a party at all, but a collection of "independents" who agreed on one thing -- they didn't like multi-racial government.

Of the 14 seats contested, the "independents" won eight and Lyttleton Plan supporters six.

Voting showed that those opposed to the existing multi-racial government totalled 7493, while 5447 Whites voted for the status quo.

Voters did, however, hand a severe trouncing to out-and-out White Settler diehards, and at the opposite extreme, beat down candidates of the Capricorn Africa Society who urged that multi-racial government be speeded up.

The step backwards taken by the white voters will certainly have its effect upon the African elections due next March.

Under the present communal voting system in Kenya each voter has to vote for a man of his own race. The end result is that the man who appeals to his constituency on the most controversial or inflammable racial issues is the man to get in. So it was that the European election campaign centered around such touchy subjects as racial integration in the schools (not practiced at all in Kenya except in one small private school and a new technical college), mixed hospitals, and other issues of the"How-would-you-like-a-black-man-to-marry-your-sister?" brand.

> Michael Blundell, outspoken Minister of Agriculture and upholder of the Lyttelton multi-racial set-up, found himself under strong fire for his expansive interview given to a CBS TV team on Kenya's future and his colleague Wilfred Havelock scraped home with a bare 27 votes.

This election saw the White extremist Federal Independence Party (not to be confused with the "independents") contesting the White seats for the first time with an appeal based on "Apartheid" and the need for ensuring White supremacy. But not one of their eight candidates got a seat, which goes to show that however much the Kenya European is right of centre, he is still a long way from giving his support to out-and-out White supremacy on the Strydom pattern.

But what will be of the greatest importance to Kenya in the year ahead will be the African elections, the first to be held in the Colony.

There is no doubt that the outcome of the European elections has firmly nailed down the political coffins of those Africans counselling moderation and co-operation with the Whites.

KENYA EYES AFRICAN LEADER RETURNING FROM U.S. TOUR

AS THE Kenya election enters it most interesting phase--election of six Africans to the Legislative Council for the first time in the colony's history--Nairobi observers report that all eyes are on the role Tom Mboya, leader of Kenya's African trade union movement, is destined to play on his return home from a tour of America. Mr. Mboya will be campaigning in a three-way contest for the Nairobi seat.

Early this month, Mr. Mboya was in Washington, D. C., where he gave an address under joint auspices of Howard University and the Institute of African-American Relations.

On that occasion, Mr. Mboya made the following observations: that 1) Kenya's race problem revolves around the question of who rules and who controls the economy, 2) an analysis of Kenya's per capita income ($1,800 for Europeans, $120 for Africans) "shows a wide gap not explained by the activities of the different racial groups," and 3) European statements about the lack of African experience and ability to govern must be viewed against the fact that the Europeans have had no deliberate program by which Africans could be trained.

Mr. Mboya urges a rapid stepping up of African representation in government, with a goal of universal suffrage. He urges a declaration that Kenya is to be developed as an African state, under which equal individual rights would be preserved for Europeans and other minorities.

As leader of Kenya's organized African labor, Mr. Mboya, at the age of 26, controls one of the key weapons at the Africans' disposal in their struggle for power. A strike of his Mombasa dockworkers union, for instance, can wreak havoc with the European economy.

news briefs

- A SEMI-OFFICIAL Egyptian journal has outlined a plan for Egypt to assume leadership of the African continent. "The Egyptian Economic and Political Review" suggests a network of consular offices throughout Africa, increased African language broadcasts from Cairo, education of the largest possible number of African "natives" (sic) in Cairo, establishment of an African airline and ocean shipping network, foundation of an institute of African studies, sending of missions of "experts" to African countries, an annual conference of Africans in Cairo, and use of the United Nations as a sounding board. Keynote of the Egyptian approach would be "Africa for the Africans" and her policy would be directed to the "liberation of Africa from foreign influence." In another development, Egypt's President Nassar was quoted in a Cairo newspaper as proposing an economic organization among African and Asian countries "to foil Western conspiracies against their economies..."

- EGYPT this month gave the newly-independent Sudan a shipment of armaments, including 18 armored cars, 18 tanks, 50 Sten guns, 150 pistols and 45 tons of ammunition.

- THE COMMUNIST-FRONT World Federation of Trade Unions is planning an African Trade Union Conference at Cotonou in French Togoland, "New Commonwealth" reports. Organization of the meeting, scheduled for late this month, is being undertaken by the Trade Union Coordinating Committees of Franch Equatorial Africa and the Cameroons and also of French West Africa and Togoland. Its purpose: to set up a single united trade union organization for these territories and offset the successes of non-Communist trade union movements in Africa.

- FULLY ANTICIPATING "fierce opposition," especially from white settler groups, Britain's Labor Party has adopted a number of proposals for liberalization of colonial policy. At a conference this month, the party pledged itself to the establishment of democracy in each colony, with every inhabitant having a vote, regardless of race. The Labor policy statement called for an end to official racial discrimination, made proposals challenging vested interest groups, and pledged one percent of the national income to colonial development. It also opposed granting of freedom to colonies until full democracy is established--a bitter pill for white groups in east and central Africa. Sensing forthcoming victory at the polls, Labor leaders urged party members to consider the proposals carefully, because they might have to be implemented in a few years. This, it was pointed out, will require tremendous courage.

- NIGERIA'S planned Constitutional Conference, hailed by Nigerians as their "Summit Meeting" with the British Colonial Office, will not be held until January at the earliest. Colonial Secretary Lennox-Boyd says Britain is ready to grant self-government to the Western Region and any other region that desires it provided that overall administration of the country remains in the hands of the British-controlled Nigerian federal government.

- RELATIVE QUIET settled over the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt this month following declaration of a State of Emergency. Most of the 30,000 members of the African Mineworkers Union returned to work, ending three months of intensive wildcat strikes. Officials were left wondering what to do with 40 or so African leaders of the mineworkers union who had been arrested during the crackdown. Union President Lawrence Katilunga was unaffected. He and Chief Chitimukula of the Bemba tribe had been instrumental in calling the miners back to work.

- IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA, serious difficulties failed to materialize from a strike of African railway workers, and a State of Emergency was called off. Leaders of the railway union had agreed to certain wage offers, but changed their minds the next day and called a five day strike. Because their action could have paralyzed the country, exasperated Europeans spoke coldly of African "irresponsibility" in the matter.

WINNERS in the 1956 IAAR Essay Contest were announced last week. The annual contest is open to Africans studying in the United States. Top prizes of $200 each from the IAAR essay fund went this year to two Kenyans, Julius K. Gecau in the Graduate Division and S.K. Karimi in the Undergraduate Division. Second place awards of $100 were given to Pius N. Okigbo of Nigeria, Graduate, and Sahrifili L. Matturi of Sierra Leone, Undergraduate. Duplicate third prizes of $50 each were awarded to Friday T. Essien of Nigeria and Ngethe Njoroge of Kenya, Graduate, and John S. Mbiti, Kenya, and Sylvester U. Ugoh, Nigeria, Undergraduate. Two honorable mention awards of $20 each were awarded in the Graduate Division, recipients being Ayelew Zelleke of Ethiopia and C.M.C. Ndamse of South Africa. Essayists wrote on their own countries, discussing present conditions and prospects for the future. The contest is designed to stimulate the thinking and writing ability of African students and provide them with an additional means of financial assistance. Publication of some of the essays is anticipated.

A NIGERIAN STUDENT at Howard University has written a play about student life as seen through the eyes of an African on an American campus. The student, Samuel Adeniyi Sofola, received his B.A. from Howard in 1954 with Phi Beta Kappa honors and is now studing medicine. He will be on hand for an autograph party on Thursday, November 8, from 4-6 p.m. in the Moreland Room of the Founders Library. The play: "When a Philosopher Falls in Love" (Comet Press, $3.00).

MINERS in South Africa's Transvaal uncovered an eleven pound emerald this month, moved in for a world's record, chipped eagerly at surrounding quartz, broke it in two.

business notes

- AMERICAN SMELTING & REFINING CO. has taken an option on the 1,000 square mile Lunga concession in Northern Rhodesia from New Discovery Mining Corp. The latter firm will handle copper exploration on the concession.
- AETNA INSURANCE CO. (Hartford) and Home Insurance Co. (New York) are establishing representation in Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar.
- RHODESIAN SELECTION TRUST, LTD. reports a net income of $12,040,000 (£4,300,000) for the fiscal year ended June 30, an increase of $2,372,990 (£847,498) over the previous year. Final dividend is expected to be 34¢ per American share.
- KENYA'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT during the last few years is described in detail in Notes on Commerce and Industry in Kenya, 1955-56, issued by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry in Nairobi. U.S. Department of Commerce's Investment Development Division has copies.
- LIBERIA began operation on September 1 of a government-owned Agricultural and Industrial Credit Corporation to further develop the country's economic resources. The corporation can make loans against farm mortgages, chattel mortgages and rental assignments.
- AERIAL SURVEYS are being made over areas between the Rhodesian Copperbelt and the Belgian Congo by a Dakota (DC-3) carrying the latest electronic equipment. Instruments lowered from the plane react to indicate presence of metals and minerals.
- WHAT IS BELIEVED to be the first lecture-laboratory course in shaped diamond tool technology has been established at the Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago, under a $30,000 grant from Industrial Distributors, Ltd., Johannesburg, S.A.
- LIBERIA'S FLAG flies from the mast of 10.9 per cent of the world's tanker fleet, statistics show. Much of it was transferred recently from United States registry.
- ANGOLA has exported the first shipment of petroleum from southern Africa. The oil went from Luanda to Europe. It is from a field 30 miles from Luanda.
- NIGERIA AND THE GOLD COAST are increasing tobacco production. Nigeria's initial planting of 32 acres is expected to yield over 1,000 pounds per acre of processed leaf, so at least 120 acres are being planted for the 1956-57 crop in an extensive area suited to tobacco. Gold Coast production on 325 acres is yielding up to 500 pounds per acre.

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July 26, 1956

Mr. W.E.B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

39-9-5

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

In reply to your letter of February 17, we are pleased to learn that you have accepted the invitation to become a member of the ISSSRR.

A check in the amount of $3, which covers your membership fee for one year, should be made out to William O. Brown -ISSSRR and mailed to the above letterhead address.

Sincerely yours,

William O. Brown emg

William O. Brown
Secretary-Treasurer
ISSSRR

WOB/emg

January 4, 1956

Miss Gloria Agrin
220 Broadway
New York City

My dear Gloria:

There met at our house December 29 ten members of the Council of World Peace, to discuss any future action that we might take, and to consider my circular letter of November 29, which I sent you. Five of those present and three not present had already sent me written opinions.

The general consensus of opinion was that most of those present were unwilling to sign any statement that they were agents of a foreign power, even if this was done with the reservation that they were going to contest this, but that the Attorney-General had insisted on it.

Several were of opinion that no peace movement could be started or carried on in the United States with us as prime movers; that a peace movement must take place outside our ranks and be led by the church or the trade unions.

There was much discussion but no conclusions were reached and as self-appointed chairman I refused to let any action be taken. I contended that the meeting was not an organization, but simply a forum to exchange personal opinions. We thereupon adjourned and went downstairs to drink some of Mrs. Du Bois's hot punch.

I shall do nothing further in the matter. When and if the church and the trade unions or any other group starts a peace movement, I will join if invited. Otherwise, I am taking no further action.

With love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

27-20-21

BLANCH FREEDMAN & GLORIA AGRIN
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
220 BROADWAY
NEW YORK 38, N. Y.

WORTH 4-7428 RECTOR 2-3491

January 11, 1956

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Re: Passport

Dear Doctor:

We spoke to Ashley B. Nicholas of the State Department today in re your passport. He informed us that the "other office of the Department", to which your file had been sent for re-evaluation, had returned the file to him without recommendation one way or the other. This, according to him, leaves the problem of evaluation in his hands alone. Since he had been on vacation he had not yet performed this function. He promised to call us, before the end of this week, by which time he will have reached a decision.

I'll let you know as soon as I do.

Sincerely,

BLANCH FREEDMAN & GLORIA AGRIN

By Gloria
Gloria Agrin

GA/mm

27-20-10

BLANCH FREEDMAN & GLORIA AGRIN
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
220 BROADWAY
NEW YORK 38, N. Y.

WORTH 4-7428

RECTOR 2-3491

January 12, 1956

Dr. W.E.B.DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, New York

Re: Passport

Dear Doctor:

Faster than we expected, Nicholas phoned to inform us that his decision was that he would not waive the rules of the Department in re signing a non-Communist affidavit and that therefore the passport remains denied. He will confirm by letter to us shortly.

At that time, if we may, Blanch and I would like to discuss with you the details of the commencement of a law suit. I'll call as soon as the letter is received from Nicholas.

Best to Shirely.

Sincerely,

BLANCH FREEDMAN & GLORIA AGRIN

By _____
Gloria Agrin

GA/mm

27-20-9

41/10D/17

BLANCH FREEDMAN & GLORIA AGRIN
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
220 BROADWAY
NEW YORK 38, N. Y.

WORTH 4-7428 RECTOR 2-3491

February 21, 1956

Dr. W.E.B.DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Doctor:

I am enclosing a copy of the State Department's last letter to us in regard to your passport.

Blanch and I have, on schedule, only one more short 500 page brief, before we arrive at the point of discussing and drawing the papers for your action. Having started it today, and having developed a technique that out-Wolf's Thomas Wolf, we should be ready early next week. We'll see you then.

Regards to Shirley.

Sincerely,

BLANCH FREEDMAN & GLORIA AGRIN

By Gloria
Gloria Agrin

GA/mm

Passport

COPY

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington

In reply refer to
F130-DuBois, Dr.W.E.B.

Jan 20, 1956

Dear Mrs. Freedman:

Reference is made to your telephone call to this office regarding the passport application of your client, Dr.W.E.B.DuBois.

Section 51.142 of the Passport Regulations of the Department of State provides that a passport applicant may be required, as a part of his application, to subscribe under oath or affirmation to a statement with respect to his present or past membership in the Communist Party.

Dr. DuBois was requested in a letter from this office dated July 1, 1955 to execute an affidavit of the nature outlined above and was offered an opportunity for an informal hearing under the provisions of Section 51.137 of the Regulations. Dr. DuBois has not submitted the affidavit and has not taken advantage of the offer of the hearing which was made.

This office will be glad to give further consideration to the passport application of Dr. DuBois at such time as he is willing to comply with the Passport Regulations.

Sincerely,

/s/ Frances G. Knight
Director, Passport Office

Mrs. Blanch Freedman,
Attorney at Law,
220 Broadway,
New York, New York.

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BLANCH FREEDMAN & GLORIA AGRIN
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
220 BROADWAY
NEW YORK 38, N. Y.

WORTH 4-7428 RECTOR 2-3491

Hume: Sh 4-1368

March 14, 1956

Dr. W. E.B.DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 1, New York

Dear Doctor:

In Washington on Monday, we saw Forer & Rein, who agreed to be Washington counsel in your passport case, pro bono publico.

I am enclosing herewith reprint of an article which Leonard Boudin wrote on the passport problem. Blanch and I believe some of its thinking to be blurred. This is not said in derogation of Boudin, but for the reason that our differences with his rationale would lead to a difference in legal tactics. The use of those tactics is something which we would want to discuss with you. We felt that, were you to find a moment to read the article, our discussion could be more sharply defined.

When you are ready, will you let us know.

By the way, it looks as though I will leave for Europe on April 6th. Shirley mentioned she might have a few things I could attend to for her. She ought to bear the departure date in mind.

Sincerely,

BLANCH FREEDMAN & GLORIA AGRIN

By _____
Gloria Agrin

GA/mm

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[Alfred]

230 Riverside Drive
New York 25, N.Y.
August 6, 1956

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I wish again to thank you for your kind willingness to write an essay to be included in the symposium to be published, tentatively, under the title, "Toward a Socialist U.S.A." The preliminary organization of the project has taken somewhat longer than I had hoped. The plan is shaping up quite well now, however, and I believe the publication will be really useful.

You will be interested perhaps to know that the following have definitely agreed to contribute articles, besides you, or are interested to do so and probably will: Herbert Aptheker, Broadus Mitchell, Mary van Kleeck, Henry Pratt Fairchild, Victor Perlo, Lemont Harris, Norman Thomas, Harry Laidler, Colin Lamont, Johnson T. Mc Thomas, Kermit Eby, John Howard Lawson and C. B. Baldwin.

Mr. Cameron will be writing you

42-29-47

very soon now about business arrangements. I have told him that your article will relate to equality of opportunity of all individuals in a socialist state.

With further appreciation of your collaboration, I am

Sincerely yours,

Helen Boswell

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 W. 26th St.
New York, N. Y.

February 25, 1956

Miss Kathryn S. Johnson
All Church Forum
13956 Filmore Street
Pacoima, California

Dear Miss Johnson:

Just a note to confirm Dr. Du Bois' engagement with you April 8th to speak at the Valley Unitarian Church.

He will reach Los Angeles April 3rd. Mr. Mahoney will be able to let you know where he is stopping. Matters as to transportation, etc. can be arranged after he arrives.

We are looking forward to this evening in the valley.

Sincerely,

(Mrs. W.E.B. Du Bois)